

Message Text

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ACTION IO-14

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
INR-07 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 PRS-01 SP-02
SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 AID-05 EB-07 EPG-02 TRSE-00
STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 ARA-10 NEA-10 DHA-02 /120 W
-----016837 211803Z /42

R 211210Z JUL 77

FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6168

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 LUSAKA 2117

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PORG US ZA

SUBJ: MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS: REQUEST FOR MULTILATERAL INFORMATION ON HOST GOVERNMENTS--ZAMBIA

REF: (A) STATE 159747; (B) 76 LUSAKA 0477; (C) 76 LUSAKA 3310

1. ZAMBIA'S PRIMARY MULTILATERAL INTERESTS AND OBJECTIVES AS SET OUT IN REFTEL B REMAIN THE SAME IN 1977 AS THEY WERE IN 1976. HOWEVER, IN 1977 ZAMBIA IS UNDER GREATER PRESSURE TO REALIZE ITS OBJECTIVES IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THESE ARE: (1) ATTAINING MAJORITY RULE IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA (BY NEGOTIATIONS IF POSSIBLE BUT WITH INCREASING EMPHASIS ON THE ARMED STRUGGLE), AND (2) LIMITING OF FOREIGN INFLUENCE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. THIS LATTER OBJECTIVE (IRONICALLY) IS BEING PURSUED AT THE SAME TIME ZAMBIA SEEKS FOREIGN MILITARY AND FINANCIAL SUPPORT FOR THE LIBERATION EFFORTS IN RHODESIA AND NAMIBIA AND PUBLICLY PROCLAIMS WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT OUTSIDE MILITARY ASSISTANCE SHOULD ZAMBIA BE ATTACKED MILITARILY BY EITHER RHODESIA OR SOUTH AFRICA. THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SECONDARY OBJECTIVE, RECTIFICATION OF AN INCREASINGLY ACUTE BALANCE OF PAYMENTS SITUATION AND ARRESTING A DETERIORATING ECONOMY, IS BECOMING INCREASINGLY CRITICAL BECAUSE OF THE UNFAVORABLE IMPACT ECONOMIC CONDITIONS ARE HAVING ON INTERNAL POLITICS. ZAMBIAN
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BILATERAL EFFORTS TO SECURE ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE ARE LIKELY TO RECEIVE MORE EMPHASIS BECAUSE OF ZAMBIAN DISSATISFACTION WITH THE PROGRESS OF THE NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE, ESPECIALLY CIEC PROGRESS ON COMMODITIES, I.E., COPPER. ZAMBIA WILL CONTINUE TO FOLLOW THE LEAD OF ITS THIRD WORLD PEERS ON MOST ISSUES DEALT WITH IN INTERNATIONAL FORA IN AN EFFORT TO PRESERVE ITS IMAGE AS A RESPECTED AND INFLUENTIAL MEMBER OF THE OAU AND THE NON-

ALIGNED. FURTHER, AS LONG AS THE STRUGGLES IN NAMIBIA AND RHODESIA CONTINUE, ZAMBIA WILL BE CAREFUL TO KEEP IN STEP WITH BOTH ORGANIZATIONS WHOSE SUPPORT IT NEEDS.

2. ON SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES, ZAMBIA HAS PUSHED HARD FOR THE ACCEPTANCE OF ITS POSITION BY THE UN, OAU AND NON-ALIGNED. WHILE THIS HAS BEEN DONE IN CONSULTATION WITH THE FRONTLINE STATES, KAUNDA HAS AT TIMES GOTTEN OUT FRONT, PARTICULARLY ON THE ISSUE OF BACKING FOR THE PATRIOTIC FRONT IN RHODESIA. THIS HAS BEEN DONE WITHOUT THE WHOLEHEARTED BACKING OF HIS DOMESTIC CONSTITUENCY AND PERHAPS WITH SOME RESERVATIONS BY OTHER MEMBERS OF THE FRONTLINE STATES.

3. APART FROM SOUTHERN AFRICAN ISSUES AND ECONOMIC ISSUES GERMANE TO ZAMBIA, ZAMBIA'S INTEREST IN MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS (KOREA, PUERTO RICO, THE MIDDLE EAST) IS MARGINAL AND POSITIONS TAKEN ARE DESIGNED TO ENHANCE THE COUNTRY'S IMAGE AS ANTI-COLONIALIST, ANTI-CAPITALIST AND "PROGRESSIVE". WHILE ZAMBIA WILL PROBABLY NOT GO OUT OF ITS WAY OPENLY TO INTENSIFY DIFFERENCES WITH EITHER THE EAST OR WEST, IT IS CLEAR ZAMBIA'S BASIC SYMPATHIES DO NOT LIE WITH POSITIONS GENERALLY SUPPORTED BY THE U.S. IN INTERNATIONAL FORA. ZAMBIAN WILLINGNESS TO ACTIVELY OPPOSE THE U.S. IS CONSTRAINED SOMEWHAT BY THE ROLE THE U.S. IS PLAYING IN SOUTHERN AFRICA. ZAMBIA WELCOMES U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA, ESPECIALLY AS ENUNCIATED BY THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION, AND

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PRESIDENT KAUNDA IS GENUINELY ATTRACTED BY PRESIDENT CARTER'S STAND ON HUMAN RIGHTS. HOWEVER, KAUNDA IS SOMEWHAT SKEPTICAL THAT THE U.S. IS TRULY PREPARED TO USE ITS POWER AND PRESTIGE TO RESOLVE QUICKLY PROBLEMS CONFRONTING THIS REGION. THERE ALSO IS INCREASING ZAMBIAN AWARENESS THAT U.S. AID IS IMPORTANT TO ZAMBIA IN MEETING ECONOMIC PROBLEMS WHICH ARE REACHING CRISIS PROPORTIONS. U.S. AID, U.S. INVOLVEMENT IN SOUTHERN AFRICA IN A POSITIVE WAY AND HUMAN RIGHTS ARE

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INFO OCT-01 AF-10 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05 H-01
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SS-15 USIA-06 ACDA-07 AID-05 EB-07 EPG-02 TRSE-00
STR-04 OMB-01 CEA-01 ARA-10 NEA-10 DHA-02 /120 W
-----016970 211803Z /45

R 211210Z JUL 77
FM AMEMBASSY LUSAKA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 6169

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 LUSAKA 2117

FACTORS OFFERING SOME ASSURANCE THAT OUR CONCERNS ON VARIOUS ISSUES WILL RECEIVE A SYMPATHETIC HEARING. HOWEVER, ZAMBIAN SYMPATHY WILL BE TRANSLATED INTO ACTIVE SUPPORT ONLY IN THOSE INSTANCES WHERE ZAMBIA'S PERCEIVED INTERESTS ARE CLEARLY ALIGNED WITH THOSE OF THE U.S. AND DO NOT CONFLICT WITH ZAMBIA'S THIRD WORLD LOYALTIES. ITS AMBIVALENT APPROACH TO ISSUES OF MAJOR CONCERN TO THE U.S. WAS DISPLAYED AT THE RECENT ILC. ALTHOUGH ZAMBIAN DELEGATES HAD EXPRESSED SYMPATHY, APPRECIATION AND UNDERSTANDING OF THE U.S. POSITIONS IN THE CORRIDORS, THEY WERE NOT PRESENT WHEN THE VOTES WERE TAKEN. PERHAPS THIS IS THE BEST WE CAN HOPE FOR--A LESSENING OF ZAMBIAN OFFICIAL OPPOSITION TO US ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, RATHER THAN BRINGING THEM AROUND TO ACTIVE SUPPORT.

4. ALL OF THE SENIOR OFFICIALS AT THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS, WHO WERE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THE U.S., RECENTLY HAVE BEEN TRANSFERRED. THIS WILL REQUIRE A MAJOR EFFORT ON THE EMBASSY'S PART TO EDUCATE NEW PERSONNEL ON U.S. VIEWS. WRITTEN PRESENTATIONS ON COMPLEX ISSUES WHICH WE CAN PRESENT TO OUR FOREIGN MINISTRY CONTACTS HAVE PROVEN USEFUL IN THE PAST AND WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO RECEIVE THESE FROM THE DEPARTMENT. ON ESPECIALLY CRUCIAL ISSUES, VISITS BY HIGH LEVEL DEPARTMENT OFFICIALS, EXPERT
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IN PARTICULAR FIELDS, WOULD BE HELPFUL IN MAKING A CONVINCING CASE TO ZAMBIAN DECISION WORKERS. TWO OF THE MOST KNOWLEDGEABLE ZAMBIAN OFFICIALS ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES, THE FORMER PERMANENT SECRETARY, PUTTEHO NGONDA, AND THE FORMER UNDERSECRETARY FOR POLITICAL AFFAIRS, ISAAC MANDA OF THE FOREIGN OFFICE, HAVE BEEN POSTED AS AMBASSADORS TO THE U.S. AND FRANCE RESPECTIVELY. THE EMBASSY BELIEVES THAT INVOLVING NGONDA AND MANDA IN A DIALOGUE ON MULTILATERAL ISSUES WOULD BE A HELPFUL SUPPLEMENT TO THE EMBASSY'S ENDEAVORS WITH LUSAKA OFFICIALS.

5. THE EMBASSY'S COORDINATOR FOR MULTILATERAL AFFAIRS IS

THE DEPUTY CHIEF OF MISSION, JOHN R. CLINGERMAN.

6. COMMENT: WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO INVEST TIME AND RESOURCES ON THE EDUCATION OF ZAMBIAN DECISION MAKERS ON THE BROAD RANGE OF MULTILATERAL ISSUES OF IMMEDIATE CONCERN TO THE U.S. SUCH EDUCATION SHOULD BE UNDERTAKEN WITH THE UNDERSTANDING THAT ZAMBIA IN MANY INSTANCES IS UNLIKELY TO SUPPORT THE U.S. IF SUCH SUPPORT CONFLICTS WITH WHAT THE ZAMBIANS DEFINE AS THE "MORAL" APPROACH BUT WHICH LOOKS TO US LIKE SOMETHING DICTATED BY MORE RADICAL ELEMENTS OF THE NON-ALIGNED. WE SHOULD CONCENTRATE OUR EFFORTS ON ISSUES OF CONCERN TO BOTH ZAMBIA AND THE U.S.--SOUTHERN AFRICA, NORTH/SOUTH DIALOGUE ON COMMODITIES, AND LOS--AND PRESS LESS HARD ON OTHER RECURRING ISSUES--THE MIDDLE EAST, KOREA, PUERTO RICO, ETC. WE SHOULD BE PREPARED TO DISPLAY A DEGREE OF TOLERANCE FOR ZAMBIAN WAYWARDNESS IN FAILING TO SUPPORT ISSUES ON WHICH THEY SAY WE ARE IN AGREEMENT, BUT THEN DON'T PRODUCE WHEN THE CHIPS ARE DOWN. ON THE OTHER HAND, WE SHOULD NOT REFRAIN FROM MAKING OUR DISPLEASURE EVIDENT WHEN THEIR PUBLIC STANCE ON ISSUES CRITICAL TO THE U.S. IS UNHELPFUL.

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Message Attributes

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Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 22 May 2009
Disposition Event:
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